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ASSESSMENT OF THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSION  
IN THE BAGHDAD PACT AREA

ANNEX

THE AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARTY MOVEMENT

US SUBMISSION

July 1, 1959

The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference (AAPSC), a group originally (1954-1955) inspired and sponsored by the World Peace Council, met in Cairo on 26 December 1957 for the announced purpose of cementing the ties between Asian and African nations, and of co-ordinating the struggles of colonial countries for independence, for the economic advancement of underdeveloped areas, and for the promotion of cultural growth on both continents. However, because of Soviet membership in the AAPSC, it also provided a basis for the efforts of Soviet Communism to gain a "legitimate" foothold in Africa and the Middle East as a means of promoting Communist aims in the area along economic and ideological lines.

The acceptance of the Soviet Union as a member of the AAPSC also formed the basis for a serious rift in the Solidarity movement because of the widening divergence of goals between nationalists and Communists and the competition between the USSR and UAR for influence in the emerging independent states of Africa. This rift has widened during 1959 and is currently menacing the effectiveness of Afro-Asian solidarity. Similarly the awakening of national sentiments in African countries has caused a resentment on their part toward efforts of the UAR or Communists to dominate the AAPSC. At the same time the African countries have tended to emphasize their distinctly African interests and have found little in common with Asian interests. Several of the Asian nations on the other hand have indicated resentment of UAR efforts to achieve a predominant or directing role in the Solidarity movement and have sought to emphasize the "Bandung" as opposed to the "Cairo" brand of solidarity.

Concretely, however, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference produced a permanent organization "as" a set of resolutions outlining future activities. In accordance with a resolution passed by this first conference

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in January 1958, a permanent body for Afro-Asian Solidarity was set up with headquarters in Cairo. This comprised a council composed of one member from each participating state, which was scheduled to meet annually, and a permanent secretariat to implement the council's directives and guide the organization's business between council meetings.

The Secretariat, as originally projected, was divided into functional departments as follows:

Economic

Dependent Countries  
Labor  
Economic Cooperation

Cultural

Science  
Arts and Letters

Social

Women and Children  
Youth

Political

Colonial Affairs  
Nuclear Weapons

Liaison

Africa  
Asia  
Arab States

However, apparently because only six of the eleven designated countries have (up to June 1959) appointed Secretaries, the original organizational plan has been modified. The current personnel of the Secretariat with their primary fields of responsibility follows:

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Anwar al-Sadat (Egypt), Chairman  
Yussuf al-Sibai (Egypt), Secretary General

National Secretaries

Harch dev Malaviya (India)

Publications

Yang Shuo (Communist China)

Cultural Affairs

Abd al-Ghaffar Rashidov (USSR)

Correspondence and Contacts

Osende Afana (Cameroons)

"Documentation"--facts and figures on Afro-Asian nations

Bahia Karim (UAR)

Women and Children

John Kale (Uganda)

A recent appointee with as yet undesignated responsibilities.

It is noteworthy that with the exception of the UAR members the Permanent Secretariat is composed entirely of professed or suspected Communists.

In addition to the National Secretaries other officers (all Egyptian) of the Secretariat are:

Mursi-Sa'ad al-Din

Technical Director

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Kamal Shawkati

Public Relations Officer

Salah Zulficar

Personnel Director

Kamal Baha-al-Din

Comptroller General

There is also an Editorial Board whose membership includes: Yuseuf al-Sibai, Osende Afana, Yang Shuo, Abd al-Ghaffar Rashidov, Bahia Karam and Harsh dev Malaviya, editor. (As the board includes all the National Secretaries except Kale, it is probable that the above list was compiled before Kale's appointment as Secretary and that he too is now a board member.)

This official superstructure is supported by a pool of clerical employees and translators drawn from Egyptian nationals.

The first annual meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council (AASC) was held in Cairo 9 - 11 February 1959. At this meeting a full report of the year's accomplishments and difficulties was presented by the Permanent Secretariat. After consideration of the report, the Council passed a series of resolutions intended to correct the defects which had been found in the structure of the solidarity movement and to guide the activities of the Secretariat in the year to come.

The aims of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Secretariat are best summarized in words of the report presented by the Secretariat itself to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council which met in Cairo 9 - 11 February 1959:

Being interested before everything in the freedom of the struggling peoples of Africa and Asia, the overwhelming attention of the Permanent Secretariat had to be devoted to political tasks. The Secretariat had to support the surging freedom struggles in the Arab world and the African countries and mobilize world opinion in their support. Again it had to fight imperialist interventions against the freedom forces in the Far East or the Middle East.

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In implementation of these aims the AASC cited its propaganda and fund-raising campaigns in support of Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Camerons, Togoland, Uganda, Guinea, the Belgian Congo and Cyprus, and in opposition to the DeGaulle Constitution re French West Africa.

Afro-Asian Solidarity was also organized in behalf of "peace, disarmament and a ban on nuclear weapons", the familiar themes of the World Peace Council.

In addition to propaganda output of all kinds (press, radio, designated "days", etc.) on behalf of these causes, the AASC sponsored or supported several conferences aimed at particular target groups and participated with observers at conferences sponsored by international Communist front organizations and regional liberation groups.

These conferences such as the Afro-Asian Writers Conference in Tashkent were intended to provide a sounding board for "anti-colonial" propaganda and for declarations of solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples against "western imperialism." In some cases such as the Afro-Asian Economic Conference in Cairo in December, 1958, the effectiveness of these meetings was impaired by dissensions among the participants provoked primarily by attempts of the Soviet Union to pose as an Asian power in order to penetrate and influence the Afro-Asian group. Mingled with this was Asian resentment of efforts of the UAR to establish the locus of "solidarity" in Cairo rather than in Bandung.

There has also been growing evidence of the mounting competition between the Soviet Union and the UAR for the dominant position in the movement.

During the current year (1958 - 1959) several significant conferences took place, the more important aspects of which are discussed in the following pages.

#### Afro-Asian Writers' Conference

The Afro-Asian Writers' Conference was held in Tashkent 7 - 13 October 1958. The idea of holding such a conference was specified in the cultural resolutions of the Cairo Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference

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and, while the Writers' Conference was organized by an International Preparatory Committee, this committee received full support and cooperation of the Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat.

The Writers' Conference was attended by representatives of forty countries of the two continents, including a preponderant number of Communists and fellow travelers. There were also present the usual number of observers from the international Communist front organizations and representatives of the press, both Eastern and Western. The chairman of the Conference was the President of Uzbekistan, Sharaf Rashidov, a well-known Soviet writer who has taken a prominent part in increasing Soviet influence in the Afro-Asian movement. In addition Mukhiddinov, a member of the Presidium of the CPSU, attended much of the Conference, emphasizing the importance attached to the Conference by the USSR.

Although the original plans had promised an exchange of views on literary subjects, the final agenda had a decidedly political flavor emphasizing "the role of literature in the struggle for progress and national independence against Colonialism." Although much of the Conference was taken up with exhortations for peaceful co-existence and closer co-operation between Afro-Asian states, careful direction of Conference topics gave emphasis to the acceptance of the USSR as an essentially Asian country. Much also was done to show the Communist Bloc as the champion of "colonial" peoples.

However, sharp dissension broke out led by the Indian delegation, which openly rebelled at the political flavor of the meeting, and the leader of the Indian delegation, Tara Shankar Bannerji, refused to commit the delegation to the proposal to set up a permanent Afro-Asian writers' organization.

Such an organization was approved by the Conference, however, and has set up headquarters in Colombo. The Permanent Bureau will consist of representatives from Cameroons, Ceylon, Communist China, Ghana, Indonesia, Japan, Sudan, UAR and USSR. The next meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference has been set for 1960 in Cairo.

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Afro-Asian Economic Conference

As called for in the resolutions of the Cairo Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, an Afro-Asian Economic Conference comprised of representatives of Afro-Asian Chambers of Commerce was held in Cairo in December 1958. The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, at the insistence of the Chambers of Commerce that political bodies should not be associated with the Conference, kept itself officially out of the picture. However, support for the Conference was acknowledged.

The Conference itself was not an unqualified success from the Communist point of view. Indeed M. V. Nesterov, head of the Soviet delegation, aroused the opposition of delegates from neutralist countries when he attempted to make a speech embodying the "imperialist conspiracy" line and was silenced by a 12 to 4 vote of committee members.

The most important result of the Conference was an agreement to establish a permanent Afro-Asian organization for economic cooperation.

However, once again opposition, this time led by Indonesia, kept the Soviets from gaining membership on the committee charged with drafting a charter for the permanent group and to choose a site for its establishment. When this committee met in Bandung in April 1959 it was decided to limit membership of the new Afro-Asian Economic Cooperation organization to nations that took part in the 1955 Bandung Conference or had become independent since that day. This excluded the USSR whose first appearance at Afro-Asian conferences was at the Cairo Conference of 1957. This question and the choice of a site have not been finally resolved and may arise again at a forthcoming session of the committee scheduled for later this year.

Afro-Asian Youth Conference

The Afro-Asian Youth Conference was sponsored by the Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat in collaboration with the UAR Higher Council for Youth Welfare. Its origins also lie in the resolutions of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference of 1957. The Youth Conference was attended by delegations purporting to represent youth organizations in fifty-five countries. Its theme was the role of youth in fostering Afro-Asian solidarity. Although it claimed to be a descendant of the Bandung

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Conference of 1955, the presence of the Soviet Union and delegations representing the international Communist fronts substantially changed the climate of the meeting. For instance, no delegation came from Indonesia and delegations from Iraq and the Sudan were reportedly "more Communist than the Soviets." Moreover, even though the UAR authorities were for a neutralist position some members of the UAR delegation, including Khalid Muhi al-Din, were definitely oriented toward the Communist bloc. Pakistan provided the most notable anti-Communist contribution to the meeting when Miss Muntat Ghulam Ali gave an anti-Chinese Communist, moderately pro-Western speech. Due to superior organization and well-timed strategy, however, final resolutions adhered strictly to Communist anti-West lines. The UAR delegation, realizing its inability to win out in opposition to the Soviet Bloc, put up in the end only token resistance, preferring not to risk splitting the Conference wide open and shattering the semblance of Afro-Asian solidarity. Moreover, the non-political resolutions called for the establishment of a permanent office for Afro-Asian youth to be attached to the Solidarity Secretariat in Cairo and the date and place for the next Afro-Asian Youth Conference was set for Cairo 1962.

Aside from these conferences the Permanent Secretariat sent observer delegates to meetings sponsored by other national and international groups.

Foremost among them was the All African People's Conference which met in Accra in December 1958. This group, primarily interested in African liberation and economic development, is of paramount interest to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council. All members of the Permanent Secretariat attended this meeting and although merely observers, they were active in contacting African national leaders, encouraging visits of these leaders to Cairo and in some cases, suggesting the possibility of financial assistance. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Secretariat also endorsed the resolutions of the Accra Conference for promoting the struggles of African nations against the "colonial powers" and for encouraging the emergence of "the African Personality."

Secretariat delegates attended meetings of the World Peace Council in Moscow and Stockholm (both in 1959) and professed complete solidarity with this international Communist front organization. They were present

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at the meeting of the All India Afro-Asian Solidarity Council meeting held in Calcutta in May 1959. This group is very closely associated with the All India Peace Council (an affiliate of the World Peace Council) and follows the Communist "peace" line.

Further activity of the Permanent Secretariat centered in the publication field. Regular publications of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, put out by the editorial board mentioned above, include the Afro-Asian Quarterly and the Afro-Asian Bulletin, monthly journal of the Secretariat. In addition, special pamphlets appear on an irregular basis on such subjects as racial segregation, imperialism, and the Cameroons question. All these publications are published in English, French and Arabic and offer contributions from well-known fellow tray-  
ellers, e.g., Rameshwari Nehru, Danial Latifi, Felix Roland Mounie and others.

The work of the Permanent Secretariat during its first eighteen months of existence has been considerably hampered by lack of a full complement of International Secretaries. As yet no representatives have been appointed from Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq or the Sudan. This shortage of executive personnel has made it impossible to undertake the full schedule of work originally planned.

Financial difficulties have further hindered the completion of planned work. In view of the fact that only three (USSR, Communist China, UAR) of the forty-five National Solidarity Committees represented at the Cairo Conference have sent their promised contribution, certain endeavors, e.g. publication of an economic review and compilation of an economic library, have had to be deferred.

Indeed lack of interest manifested by National Solidarity Committees has been a major handicap to the work of the Secretariat. As reported by the Secretariat to the Council meeting only a few National Committees have been active, namely those of the UAR, Indonesia, the USSR, India, China, Korea, North Vietnam and Mongolia. A serious lack of response was noted in the countries of Africa.

However, plans are under way to stimulate activity in the national Solidarity groups and to fill the complement of International Secretaries on the Permanent Secretariat.

Plans for future activity of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, as outlined at the February Council meeting, include:

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(1) continued sponsorship of rising freedom movements, with particular emphasis on Algeria, the Cameroons, the Belgian Congo and the Portuguese colonies;

(2) continuing opposition to "U.S. imperialism against People's China";

(3) aggressive campaigns for peace, disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests;

(4) the opening of a special section in the Secretariat for labor and trade union problems;

(5) encouragement of cultural development of Afro-Asian countries including the compilation of a book on Asian and African literature;

(6) the sponsorship of Afro-Asian conferences. Meetings already projected are: Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference to be held in Conakry, Afro-Asian Women's Conference, to meet in Cairo on or about 1 March 1960 and an Afro-Asian Film Festival, place unspecified.

While increased impetus from within could undoubtedly render the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement more effective, its future will be influenced by the nature of the USSR-UAR relationship, the attitude of Asian members toward UAR or USSR predominance and the increasing emphasis by African members on purely African movements. As of June 1959 the very existence of the Permanent Secretariat in Cairo is in jeopardy. In connection with the anti-Communist campaign currently being waged by the UAR, President Nasser has on several occasions threatened to expel the "Communist members" of the Permanent Secretariat from Cairo, a move which would entail the removal of all the Permanent Secretaries except for the Chairman, the Secretary General and the UAR representative. If the UAR-USSR relationship worsens, and this threat is carried out, the movement will either collapse, move elsewhere--possibly behind the Iron Curtain--or change completely in orientation and objectives.

Likewise, even if the Secretariat remains as is but the Soviet Union moves to assert a stronger position in the leadership of the movement, the orientation of the Solidarity effort could be altered. Indications of such a move include a proposal that Baghdad be chosen as the locale for the next Council meeting and the designation of Conakry

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as the meeting place for the 1959 Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. The latter appears to be a move intended to lessen Egyptian control of the movement and, possibly, as the location of the Permanent Secretariat is due for reconsideration at this meeting, to remove that body from Cairo.

At the present time (June 1959) a definitive evaluation of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement is not possible. Although it has not functioned effectively to date it is still in a formative stage. Its very existence, however, as a quasi-respectable organization as well as the breadth of its membership provide the International Communist Movement with additional opportunities to promote Communist goals throughout the Afro-Asian world.

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